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The Pope's Nameday Speech

PIUS XII took the occasion of the Feast of Saint Eugene to address the College of Cardinals and sum up the Church's attitude to national socialism and to the future peace of the world. He performed a most useful service by reminding men everywhere of those clergymen and laymen who suffered for their faith in German concentration camps. There were many of them, and they must not be forgotten. He also clarified—and it needs clarification if only because it is either through ignorance or through hatred so constantly misinterpreted—the question of the Concordat with the nazi government. How often must it be repeated that the making of a concordat does not signify approval of the government or philosophy with which the concordat is made? And in stirring words we are reminded of "Mit Brennender Sorge" in which Pius XI condemned the main tenets of nazi doctrine. As the Pope points out, this document was thought too vigorous by many at the time of its publication. "Some even among the faithful themselves were too blinded by their prejudices or allured by political advantage." One is proud to find so categorical an admission of weakness on the part of certain Catholic admirers of Hitler's methods. But one likewise feels that the Pope's admirable message does not either explain or account for a central problem, which was the acceptance in countless instances of many of the worst aspects of nazi action and philosophy by Catholic leaders who should have known better. It is true that thousands suffered, "even unto death." It is also true that millions acquiesced and actively supported those excesses of nationalism which led to the devastation of all Europe, but which it might be hard to link to a specifically heretical context. The Bishops of Germany boldly spoke out against sterilization and the killing of the infirm; courageous voices protested the indignities inflicted upon the Jews. Was there ever any protest over the road to war which Hitler clearly chose as the solution for Germany's problems? The Church has had to make its peace with nationalism in order to survive; it is a question now whether we shall not all have to admit that contemporary nationalism is simply and irrevocably the enemy of the Christian way of life, under whatever guise that nationalism may appear, Left or Right.

Definite Terms for Japan

THERE IS nothing spectacular about it but the realization is growing that it may be possible for the United States and Britain to reach satisfactory peace terms with Japan. Just as different weapons and different techniques from those successful in Europe have proved necessary in the Pacific, so, too, it is not surprising that the Oriental situation calls for different methods of arriving at peace. One has only to contrast the political setups of Germany and Japan, take into account the special status of the Mikado, and recall the paramount importance attached by the Orient to saving face, to suspect that different tactics are required in this case. To insist with Admiral Halsey upon "absolute, unadulterated unconditional surrender"—an unworkable formula in the face-saving Orient—is to condemn all hands to fight on in a war of mutual extinction. The result of prolonging the war so agonizingly, of expending the lives of so many more American servicemen and Japanese soldiers and civilians, will be to create a political vacuum, a fearsome anarchy and chaos which would require policing by vast numbers of Americans for years to come and even then provide no lasting solution in the Pacific.

The defeat of Japan which we must insist on as the result of this all-out war must have definite configurations. It would have to embody such elements as the definitive unhorsing of the militarists, Japanese relinquishment of all current conquests and of China, Manchuria and the mandated and possibly other islands, the independence of Korea, demobilization, thorough demilitarization and other items about which the Allies can reach a decision. Almost as much as this was in fact included in the peace feeler which cer-

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tain industrialists addressed to the Allies through Russian good offices shortly after VE day. That rejected offer was not comprehensive enough. But the point is that surrender terms to Japan can be drawn up along clearly specified lines. And they could be drastic enough to constitute virtual unconditional surrender without insisting on the humiliation of that unconditional formula which any Oriental would find so unbearable. Genuine capitulation by Japan as soon as possible is in the interests of all.

In this connection current reports of mass propagandizing from our B 29's is highly encouraging. The millions of leaflets showered on the Japanese people explain surrender in viable terms. And President Truman has reiterated the idea that surrender will mean a demilitarized—not an enslaved—Japan. Terms that are stern, definite but acceptable are the immediate need. For the long pull the development of a comprehensive policy for the Pacific, in the interest of the peoples of varying autonomous and colonial status—as well as in our own interest—is the crying need.

The Veto Crisis

AS WE GO to press the outcome of the veto *impasse* at San Francisco is still unknown. Hence our comments upon it are made under considerable difficulties. If Russia should yield on the point, the trouble will soon be forgotten. If she does not yield, yet does not withdraw from San Francisco, presumably the plan for a security organization will be marred by the grave defect of containing within it a known source of disagreement before it is even offered to the various contracting parties for ratification. If Russia does not yield and withdraws, the implications would be terribly serious for the peace of the world.

Regardless of the outcome, however, it is difficult to see how any government such as ours or the British could reasonably accept granting each of the permanent Council members the power to stop discussion within the Council of any matter affecting the peace of the world. In any crucial instance such power would be so tempting that it would be exercised. Supposing that Italy had had such power at the time of the Ethiopian War, can anyone imagine that the League would have been allowed even to mention unhappy Abyssinia on its agenda? The League did little more than talk at the time of Italy's African adventure, but at least it did talk, and the word "sanctions" was heard in Geneva. Under the proposed Russian arrangement, there could not be any talk. And Walter Lippmann's argument that it really doesn't matter, because in any such situation the powers directly concerned could get together outside the framework of the Security Council simply begs the question. Interested parties have always been able to get together, and hardly ever has the result been worth recording except as a dismal failure. It is precisely to avoid this that the Security Organization is being set up. It would still have some slight value if the Russian proposal were to be accepted, but that value could only remind us of the ancient Latin tag about mountains laboring and mice emerging.

President Truman's Social Views

IN THEIR eagerness to inform the American people as to the political tendencies of their new President certain reporters had it that Mr. Truman stood a little to the Right of Center. But in his own quiet way the President has proceeded to correct this estimate. (Of course such readily applied political labels are none too significant, but suffice it to say that Mr. Truman's accession to the presidency aroused new hope among our most conservative business interests.) The President's tacit support of the sweeping new full employment bill should provide a rude awakening, if his open advocacy of more prolonged unemployment benefits had not already provided a broad hint. The acceptance of 60,000,000 jobs as a federal responsibility is a tremendous step. And it should not be surprising if the new legislation calling for extensive FHA-Department of Agriculture collaboration in providing modern homes for small farmers and enabling tenants and sharecroppers to become farm owners had Mr. Truman's backing. For all his budgetary economies the new President is anything but a "Midwestern Cal Coolidge."

Do We Really Need It?

THE MOST disheartening news report of a sorely troubled week is the announcement by the OPA that during the summer months the United States is to shut off all her shipments of meat to Europe. That is inexplicable. Everyone admits that peace and revival in Europe are of vital concern to us. Yet that is impossible so long as men and women there struggle to live on the desperate verge of starvation, are so weak as to be unable to engage in productive pursuits or provide for their dependents.

If we consider that many of the people whom this order would deprive of American meat have been keeping barely alive on a pound of meat a month—and little or no fats—for several years, we can arrive at some conception of their present condition and their urgent need. The foodstuffs most needed by these, our fellow-men, are the proteins and fats which meat provides. Rationing may be a bit irksome but has the American people had to undergo any comparable deprivation? Does any sizable number of our compa-

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triots suffer from malnutrition severe enough to endanger life? America could do with a little less this summer in the interest of humanity and lasting peace.

Disastrous as this curtailment would be for the people of the liberated areas, it is even more dangerous for American prestige. That this land of plenty, which has been spared the ravages of war, should suddenly withdraw some of its most vital material aid at the very moment it could accomplish the most in building up life and health could hardly be more unfortunate for our moral influence in the West. If the OPA cannot be persuaded by public protest to rescind the order completely, it should at least plan meat shipments of reduced dimensions. Such a revision by popular demand would accomplish much.

"Off to Syria!"

EVENTS in Syria and Lebanon are disheartening. Yet surely they should not provoke us to isolationism and an attitude of scorn for what seem to us meaningless quarrels. We must above all remember the tremendous emotional feeling the French have for the Levant because of centuries of history and of intimate cultural relations. Yet to recall this is not to excuse General de Gaulle for what can only be described as childish petulance—and perhaps something worse. It is likewise immaterial to admit that there has been rivalry for a long time in these regions between England and France. Perhaps the British did foment trouble; it is a little difficult to understand how they could have fomented trouble against France in areas the independence of which France has admitted. If these areas really are independent, what claim have the French to special privileges within them? One could argue the rights and wrongs of this whole matter indefinitely. The simple fact is that at the present stage in the world's history it is irresponsible and foolish for the head of the French State to indulge in grandstand plays which only lead to discord.

Puerto Rico's Future

THE TYDINGS BILL (S. 1002 and H.R. 3237) providing the machinery for determining the future status of Puerto Rico has the approval of the party now overwhelmingly in control of that island's legislature, as well as of all other parties represented therein. It is soundly drawn, and if passed, will greatly enhance our prestige as a nation, especially throughout Latin America. This bill is, in a sense, the result of a remarkable exhibition of political good sense by Luis Muñoz-Marín's Popular Democratic Party. For some years Puerto Rican politics have been almost exclusively devoted to the debate over the country's status: does it want independence? statehood? its present colonial position? The result has been neglect of pressing internal problems and no clear indication of what the people really want. The Popular Democrats chose a different course. They refused to advocate any particular status for the island, limiting their program to one of internal reform, and pledging themselves to try to secure for the Puerto Rican people a chance to vote directly on what form of relationship to the United States it preferred. The result was victory at the polls, the institution of a legislative program for internal reform, and, now, the Tydings Bill. Though Congress may see fit to amend it in certain particulars, this piece of legislation deserves rapid passage.

It provides that the legislature of Puerto Rico shall arrange for a popular vote on three types of relationship to the US: independence, dominion status and statehood. Whichever of these wins an absolute majority of votes (a run-off would take place if no absolute majority resulted from the first balloting), the appropriate section of the Tydings Bill will become law, automatically establishing the status thus popularly preferred. Of course unqualified independence would be an economic death sentence, for Puerto Rico's teeming population can only live if there is reasonably free trade with the US. Hence the provision for independence also provides certain economic agreements, the most important being that neither country shall levy tariffs on the products of the other except by mutual agreement. American use of bases and other military matters are likewise covered in the Bill. The alternative of statehood scarcely needs clarification, since it is obvious what it would entail. Congress may possibly decide to exclude it in any case.

The most interesting of the three choices, because the most novel, is that of "dominion status." The word *dominion* was chosen deliberately, as familiar to the local electorate, although the concept necessarily differs from that in the British Commonwealth. There the link is the crown. We have no crown or equivalent institution. So here the link is dual citizenship. Under the dominion setup, Puerto Ricans would be citizens of the island for all internal affairs, enjoying in fact much more autonomy than citizens of our states do now, since only with respect to international affairs would they likewise be citizens of the US. Here also provisions are made for free trade between the Dominion of Puerto Rico and ourselves, and for military security. The Dominion could have its own diplomatic representatives abroad. In fact this new concept is no more than a frank and realistic formulation of what any workable "independence" would have to be in fact. It is regrettable that we did not devise it much sooner, and offer it to the Philippines, for thus both trouble and injustice might have been avoided.

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Self-Determination

On the *national* plane the central fallacy

Emery Reves

The following constitutes one chapter from a book published June 13, "The Anatomy of Peace" (Harper, $2.00) which we view as basically important for every citizen who would understand the world's major problem of war and peace. On another page will be found a review of the whole book. It is our hope that the sample here given may lead readers to study the whole of Mr. Reves's thesis.—THE EDITORS.

DURING the second World War, Wilson has often been blamed for a series of grave errors of procedure, for not handling the situation properly after the first World War. Others, defending Wilson, say that the League of Nations failed, not because of any mistake Wilson made, but because the nations composing the League did not live up to the obligations they assumed.

Those who criticize Wilson's actions say that he made a great mistake in not taking a representative committee of American Senators with him to the peace conference in Paris. Had leading members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate participated in the negotiations preceding the Versailles Treaty, the Senate would have ratified the Covenant. Had America become a member of the League, the argument continues, the second World War would never have broken out.

By taking to Paris a delegation with only one Republican, who was neither a Senator nor prominent in the party, Wilson offended the Senate and the Republican party, with the result that the treaty was not ratified. To avoid a repetition of that tragedy, this time representatives of both parties in the Senate should participate in drafting the new world organization.

Wilson is also blamed for having insisted upon the inclusion of the Covenant of the League in the Treaty of Versailles. So the conclusion is drawn that this time we should set up the world organization separately from the peace arrangements.

Wilson insisted on the equality of nations, members of the League. As that principle did not work, we are now to have a league dominated by the great powers, who actually *are* responsible for keeping the peace.

Wilson insisted that the coalition created by the war, the Allied and Associated Powers, be dissolved after the cessation of hostilities and that the new League take over the settlement of all further problems and disputes, including the application of the peace treaties. That method having failed, the grand alliance created by the war is to be maintained and the proposed world organization is to have nothing to do with the peace settlement or with the conditions imposed upon the defeated enemy countries.

Wilson insisted upon general disarmament. As that program proved ineffective to maintain peace, this time the great powers are to remain armed to prevent any further aggression and protect the peace.

Wilson insisted on immediate settlement after the cessation of hostilities. Now we are to postpone political, territorial and economic decisions and make special transitional arrangements before we discuss "final" settlements.

Thus goes the dispute. Arguments and more arguments are adduced, blaming the failure of Wilson on the opposition of "bad men," on the secret treaties of the Allies, on the mistake he made by going to Europe personally, on the fact that he took principles and no plans to Paris, on his stubbornneess in dealing with the Senate between February 14 and March 13, 1919, when he was back in Washington, and so forth.

All these arguments criticizing Wilson's acts and policies are entirely superficial. None of them even approaches the core of the problem.

Should we reverse our policy and apply methods and procedures the exact opposite of Wilson's methods and procedures, without changing the fundamentals of our approach to the problem, the result would be exactly the same.

If a new covenant for a world organization were unanimously accepted in advance by the United States Senate; if we made a just peace with the enemies of the United Nations; if we maintained the grand alliance to enforce the postwar settlements; if we created a world organization of all "peace-loving" nations with the United States and the USSR participating; if the great military powers maintained heavy armaments to prevent "aggression"; if the great powers were charged by the proposed world organization to

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maintain and enforce peace with their armed might—in brief, if we followed a procedure diametrically opposed to the procedure of 1919, the result would be the same: another world war in a short time.

We shall never learn the lesson of the swift and complete collapse of the 1919 world order, if we confine ourselves to formal and superficial discussions of method and policy.

Less wide of the mark, though altogether fallacious, is the view that the League and the world order of 1919 crumbled, not because of any errors committed in 1919 nor because of any weakness of the League, but because the nations refused to fulfill their Covenant and failed to act at critical moments as they had promised and were supposed to act.

So at the end of the second World War, we find statesmen asserting that the 1919 world structure failed because the ideals and principles of Wilson were abandoned. According to them, there was nothing whatever wrong with the underlying principles upon which that order was erected.

The historic fact is that the second World War came about, not because Wilson's doctrines were not carried out, but because they were!

If we wish to avert further disappointments and another major catastrophe, we must try to understand the essential errors and fundamental fallacies of Wilson's ideas.

Although there are a few indications that Wilson did aim at the establishment of a "sovereignty of mankind," his ideas as laid down in the Fourteen Points, Four Principles, Four Ends, Five Particulars and finally in the Covenant of the League, all point most distinctly in an opposite direction.

★

The basic thought of Wilson was that every nation and every people is entitled to self-government, political independence and self-determination and that a league of independent and sovereign nations should guarantee the independence and sovereignty of each and every nation.

In the eighteenth century this would have been a feasible conception. But in the twentieth century such an oversimplified and superficial solution was bound to lead to total anarchy in international relations. This conception clearly demonstrates that Wilson, his associates in the creation of the 1919 world order and all the millions who today seek solution along the same lines, are unable to clarify the confusion in their minds as to elementary social and political principles.

Self-determination of the nations is a Ptolemaic conception.

Self-determination is an anachronism. It asserts the sacred right of every nation to do as it pleases within its own frontiers, no matter how monstrous or how harmful to the rest of the world. It asserts that every aggregation of peoples has a sacred right to split itself into smaller and ever smaller units, each sovereign in its own corner. It assumes that the extension of economic or political influence through ever-larger units along centralized interdependent lines is, in itself, unjust.

Because this ideal once held good—in a larger, simpler, less integrated world—it has a terrific emotional appeal. It can be used and is being used by more and more politicians, writers, agitators, in slogans calling for the "end of imperialism," the "abolition of the colonial system," "independence" for this and that racial or territorial group.

The present world chaos did not come upon us because this or that nation had not yet achieved total political independence. It will not be relieved in the slightest by creating more sovereign units or by dismembering interdependent aggregations like the British Empire that have shown a capacity for economic and political advancement. On the contrary, the disease now ravaging our globe would be intensified, since it is in large measure the direct result of the myth of total political independence in a world of total economic and social interdependence.

If the world is to be made a tolerable place to live in, if we are to obtain surcease from war, we must forget our emotional attachment to the eighteenth century ideal of absolute nationalism. Under modern conditions it can only breed want, fear, war and slavery.

The truth is that the passion for national independence is a leftover from a dead past. This passion has destroyed the freedom of many nations. No period in history saw the organization of so many independent states as that following the war of 1919. Within two decades nationalism has devoured its children—all those new nations were conquered and enslaved, along with a lot of old nations. It was, let us hope, the last desperate expression of an ideal made obsolete by new conditions, the last catastrophic attempt to squeeze the world into a political pattern that had lost its relevance.

Quite certainly, independence is a deep-rooted political ideal of every group of men, be it family, religion, association or nation.

If there were only one single nation on earth, the independence of its people could very well be achieved by its right to self-determination, by its right to choose the form of government and the social and economic order it desired, by its right to absolute sovereignty.

Such absolute national self-determination might still guarantee independence if in all the world there were only two or three self-sufficient nations,

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separated from each other by wide spaces, having no close political, economic or cultural contact with each other.

But once there are *many* nations whose territories are cheek by jowl, who have extensive cultural and religious ties and interdependent economic systems, who are in permanent relations by the exchange of goods, services and persons, then the ideal of self-determination—of each nation having the absolute right to choose the form of government, the economic and social systems it wishes, of each having the right to untrammeled national sovereignty—becomes a totally different proposition.

The behavior of each self-determined national unit is no longer the exclusive concern of the inhabitants of that unit. It becomes equally the concern of the inhabitants of other units. What the sovereign state of one self-determined nation may consider to the interest and welfare of its own people, may be detrimental to the interests and welfare of other nations. Whatever countermeasures the other self-determined sovereign nations may take to defend the interests of their respective nationals, equally affect the peoples of all other national sovereign units.

This interplay of action and reaction of the various sovereign states completely defeats the purpose for which the sovereign nation-states were created, if that purpose was to safeguard the freedom, independence and self-determination of their peoples.

They are no longer sovereign in their decisions and courses of action. To a very large extent they are obliged to act the way they do by circumstances existing in other sovereign units, and are unable to protect and guarantee the independence of their populations.

Innumerable examples can be cited to prove that, althought maintaining the fiction of independence and sovereignty, no present-day nation-state is independent and sovereign in its decisions. Instead, each has become the shuttlecock of decisions and actions taken by other nation-states.

The United States of America, so unwilling to yield one iota of its national sovereignty, categorically refusing to grant the right to any world organization to interfere with the sovereign privilege of Congress to decide upon war and peace, was in 1941 forced into war by a decision made exclusively by the Imperial War Council in Tokyo. To insist that the declaration of war by Congress following the attack on Pearl Harbor was a "sovereign act" is the most naïve kind of hair-splitting.

Nor was the entrance of the Soviet Union into the second World War decided by the sovereign authorities of the USSR. War was forced upon the Soviet Union by a sovereign decision made in Berlin.

The failure of national sovereignty to express self-determination and independence is just as great in the economic field, where every new production method, every new tariff system, every new monetary measure, compels other nation-states to take counter-measures which it would be childish to describe as sovereign acts on the part of the seventy-odd sovereign, self-determined nation-states.

The problem, far from being new and insoluble, is as old as life itself.

Families are entirely free to do many things they want to do. They can cook what they like. They can furnish their home as they please. They can educate their children as they see fit. But in a Christian country no man can marry three women at the same time, no man living in an apartment house can set fire to his dwelling, keep a giant crocodile as a pet or hide a murderer in his flat. If a person does these or similar things, he is arrested and punished.

Is he a free man or is he not?

Clearly, he is absolutely free to do everything he wants in all matters which concern himself and his family alone. But he is not free to interfere with the freedom and safety of others. His freedom of action is not absolute. It is limited by law. Some things he can do only according to established regulations, others he is forbidden to do altogether.

The problems created by the ideal of self-determination of nations are exactly the same as the problems created by the freedom of individuals or families. Each nation can and should remain entirely free to do just as it pleases in local and cultural affairs, or in matters where their actions are of purely local and internal consequence and can have no effect upon the freedom of others. But self-determination of a nation in military matters, in the fields of economic and foreign affairs, where the behavior of each nation immediately and directly influences the freedom and safety of all the other nations, creates a situation in which self-determination is neutralized and destroyed.

There is nothing wrong with the ideal of self-determination.

But there is something very wrong indeed with the ideal of "self-determination of nations."

This concept means that the population of this small world is to be divided into eighty or a hundred artificial units, based on such arbitrary and irrational criteria as race, nationality, historical antecedents, etc. This concept would have us believe that the democratic ideal of self-determination can be guaranteed and safeguarded by granting people the right of self-determination within their national groups, without giving corporate expression of self-determination to the aggregate of the groups.

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Such a system can preserve self-determination of the people only so long as their national units can live an isolated life. Since the nations today *are* in contact, with their economic and political lives closely interwoven, their independence needs higher forms of expression, stronger institutions for defense. In absolute interpretation, the many self-determined national units cancel out each other's self-determination.

What was the use of the "self-determination of Lithuania" when self-determined Poland occupied Vilna? And what was the use of "Polish self-determination" when self-determined Germany destroyed Poland? Unquestionably, self-determination of nations does not guarantee freedom and independence to a people, because it has no power to prevent the effects of actions committed by *other* self-determined nations. If we regard the freedom and self-determination of peoples as our ideal, we must do our utmost to avoid repeating the mistakes of 1919 and realize that *"self-determination of nations"* is today the insurmountable obstacle to *"self-determination of the people."*

★

Nobody realized the dangers of the predominating forces of our age better and sooner than Winston Churchill. In an article, published in the United States in February, 1930, he wrote:

> The Treaty of Versailles represents the apotheosis of nationalism. The slogan of self-determination has been carried into practical effect. The Treaties of Versailles and Trianon, whatever their faults, were deliberately designed to be a consummation of that national feeling which grew out of the ruins of despotism, whether benevolent or otherwise, just as despotism grew out of the ruins of feudalism. All the inherent life thirst of liberalism in this sphere has been given full play. Europe is organized as it never was before, upon a purely nationalistic basis. But what are the results? Nationalism throughout Europe, for all its unconquerable explosive force, has already found and will find its victorious realization at once unsatisfying and uncomfortable. More than any other world movement, it is fated to find victory bitter. It is a religion whose field of proselytizing is strictly limited and when it has conquered its own narrow world, it is debarred, if it has no larger aim, by its own dogmas from seeking new worlds to conquer.

And, after a brilliant analysis of the fallacy of a world order based on absolute national sovereignty, and on the ideal of national self-determination, Churchill concluded, in 1930:

> "No one can suppose that this is going to last."

It did not last.

But the emotional hold of these eighteenth century nationalist ideals are all-powerful in the minds of our national statesmen.

A decade later, the same Winston Churchill, as Prime Minister and the unforgettable and unchallenged leader of the democratic forces against totalitarianism, proclaimed the very same principles of consummated nationalism and self-determination as the foundation upon which the coming world order was once again to be built—the very principles which ten years before he so correctly recognized as futile and their victory unsatisfying and bitter.

The aggregation of acts in every possible combination and permutation—the product of the self-determination of all sovereign nation-states—creates an inextricable network of effects and counter-effects, within which the ideal of independence becomes ridiculous.

In a small interrelated and interdependent world, it is obvious that the ideals of independence and self-determination are relative notions. Independence and self-determination can exist in fact only as an optimum, can be achieved only through the regulation of the interrelations of the self-determined sovereign units.

The Polish people would have been independent and would have had self-determination to a much higher degree than was actually assured them by the sovereign Polish Republic, had certain attributes of Polish national sovereignty been limited, restricted and integrated into a higher sovereign institution, provided that the sovereignty of the German state had been equally limited, restricted and integrated. The first criterion of independence and self-determination is the ability to guarantee freedom against aggression and destruction by outside forces. Today the institutions of the sovereign nation-state are patently incapable of fulfilling that task.

The Covenant of the League of Nations was based entirely on the principles of national sovereignty, of national self-determination, on the right of every nation to do as it pleased within the boundaries of its national state. The Covenant was built upon the assumption that peace between such sovereign nation-states could be maintained by providing a place for the representatives of these sovereign units to meet and discuss their relationship, and the machinery to handle the problems arising between them.

This was a purely formal and unrealistic conception which did not even recognize the existence of the crucial problem of human society that must be solved, the evident and apparent causes that lead to conflicts and to wars between the nations. With such complete lack of understanding of the nature of international conflicts, with such basically erroneous notions as to the essence of group relationship, Wilsonism and its creation, the League, was bound to fail, no matter what policies, what procedure, what tactics, were pursued by its founders, no matter what attitudes were adopted by its member states.

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San Francisco: A British View

GEORGE CATLIN

A FEW WEEKS after the publication of my last contribution to THE COMMONWEAL, explaining the dangers of the policy of balance of power, Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, British High Commissioner in Ottawa, speaking in Canada, explained that Britain had no intention of pursuing a balance of power policy and was indeed wedded to that principle of concert of the powers which I had mentioned as desirable. This was obviously a most commendable statement of policy, and it is to be earnestly hoped that it will be persisted in despite all temptations.

Behind the legal formulae of Yalta and the discussions in the great talk-fest in San Francisco, about which I have not the least desire to be pessimistic, emerge certain factors of power. Indeed the Dumbarton-Yalta-Francisco plan is a far more startling expression of power politics than ever was permitted to appear in public formulation at Geneva. This is not necessarily a bad thing. Indeed if the assent of the powers can be secured for a formula which advances if only in some very modest degree organization against international anarchy, it can be soberly acclaimed as a success. What is desirable to recognize is the real character of the situation.

The core of the proposed plan is the Security Council and, within this, of the five veto-enjoying powers. If all goes well and there is international harmony, then the king-pin of the machinery is the Military Staff Committee. This, granted clear instructions from its masters, can in fact ensure the peace of the world for all the foreseeable future. However, the veto power, once embodied in the old Polish constitution, has never yet been a happy governmental expedient. We can but hope that it will work better this time or, rather, that by a self-denying ordinance it will never be used. We have yet to face the fact that the whole San Francisco security scheme can be brought at any moment crashing to the ground by a single telephone call between two foreign offices ensuring that the veto shall be interposed. It may, therefore, be well to look where power really lies. It is certainly not to be found among the powerless powers of the Assembly.

The first thing one notices, as we consider the results of this second world war now nearly completed as we hope, is that for the first time for two millennia, since the days of the defeats of Persia by Alexander and of Parthia by Rome, Asia has resumed a dominant position with command of two votes in the great five, as against continental Europe's one. The remaining votes are held by the Anglo-Saxon powers. To say this is not to express an opinion upon whether the two powers which dominate Asia will cooperate or to discuss whether it might not be a good thing if they ran the world. Beside Russian enterprise stands the humanism of China to which civilization owes so much.

The second thing which any observer at San Francisco will remark is that, although we speak of the five great powers, we do so by courtesy and that in fact they are very unequal. China is a great power, perhaps even *the* great power of the future; but it is not in fact—and the Chinese themselves acknowledge it—a great power of the present. Were military and material assistance withdrawn at this moment, China would probably collapse. Again France is a great power by courtesy of her past. But France is no longer in any position, on grounds of population all else apart, to play the rôle that was hers in the days of Richelieu, Louis XIV, Napoleon or even Clemenceau. Effective manpower for a great power today must be counted in terms of hundreds of millions, which even the Senegalese cannot supply; and economic power must be to match.

Moreover, as General Smuts has indicated, even Britain is scarcely a great power in the final analysis. The Commonwealth, with its future, might sustain the position, although it would be improper to reckon in the mass manpower of India. However the present national anthem of the Commonwealth, despite Australian suggestions, seems to be "All one body not we." At least formal atomism continues as accepted policy. It is difficult to reckon that political organism a great power which has no concerted policy except when war has already broken out. As for the greater of the two British Isles, it is sufficient to recall that its population is only five million larger than the island of Java in order to realize that it is in fact now in the same position, in mass-power, that France already was after the last war.

The two decisive powers in the last analysis are the USA and the USSR. Theirs is all the responsibility which this final world position involves. And the crux of the San Francisco plan is the organization, as the first stage to peace, not so much of equity (which will have to wait) as of power. It follows that the future destiny of civilization and the prospects of enduring peace rest upon the relation of these two mammoths. To suggest that, like the whale and the elephant, they cannot fight is as idle as to suggest, that, thirty years ago, Britain and Germany could not fight. Moreover, Admiral Mahan is dead. Seapower is not what it was. Air-power has reenforced land-power. Sir Halford Mackinder, in one of the decisive books of our generation, "Democratic Ideals and Reality," has indicated by implication the overwhelming power of Russia,

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and he did this before recent developments. Stated baldly, if Russo-American relations are good there will be lasting peace. If they are bad, the third world war will take place. The relations depend upon the attitudes of each of the parties since obviously there is a breaking point beyond which concession will not in fact take place.

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Immediately after Russo-American relations, as potential guarantees of peace, I reckon Anglo-American relations, and, for reasons which I cannot here discuss, Vatican-Kremlin relations. As has been said in the American press, the power of the USA reenforces the British position (which implies that America should have some organic relation with or control over it) and, conversely, it is also true that the power of the Commonwealth significantly reenforces the United States, a fact historically always recognized by Germany, as Forrest Davis brings out ably in his recent book, "The Atlantic System." Whether the political position in the next dozen years improves or deteriorates, Anglo-American relations are, either way, of primary importance to both sides. Nevertheless they are secondary to the importance of Russo-American relations.

It is the opinion of some Englishmen, especially those enamored of the balance of power doctrine—and I could also gives the names of some Scotsmen—that Britain or perhaps a streamlined Western Europe should act as a kind of honest broker between America and Russia. I would not for a moment deny that the English island can perform a very useful function in maintaining America's European contacts by a means convenient because less direct than those of permanent American intervention in matters in which America nevertheless has to remain interested. And, under conditions of "One World" with two powers, interested she must remain. But the "broker" policy seems to me entirely unwarranted. The USA and USSR can quite well manage their own relations without intermediary. What is required is a direct military alliance on the Russo-French model. It is interesting to note that Senator Vandenberg has been talking along these lines. There is here no need for analysis of ideological sympathies. A military treaty reduces the mutual interest of the two determinant powers in abiding peace to objective and precise terms. It would be a gesture of amity beyond ambiguity. Moreover it would have the desirable result of "stymieing" the organization of sentiment against the United States as the citadel of capitalism both in Britain and elsewhere. All this would be called off. The suggestion that America was anti-Russian would be at an end.

In the alternative the situation may well deteriorate and even do so rapidly. In the event of war threatening, perhaps in China, between the two final powers, such a country as Great Britain would have to look to its position. To support, under these hypothetical conditions, Russia would certainly mean the disruption of the Commonwealth. To support America would, in the present condition of opinion, probably mean a general strike. Far the most popular policy would probably be one of heavily armed neutrality which would please those who want peace, those who want heavy armament and those who might discover in this a balance of power policy in a far more intelligent and defensible form than any yet outlined. It would be no act of friendliness to America not to state these choices. Frankly each country is afraid of being dragged into war at the tail of the other. Even in 1938 there were many Englishmen who thought that, far from Britain dragging America into war, America was far the more keen on war of the two and was issuing streams of moral exhortation to Britain on the need for belligerency. My doubt about the policy of armed neutrality is not whether it would not be found attractive by much of the electorate but whether it would prove, save in a preliminary stage of conflict, practicable. However, this doubt may reenforce the need for the alliance which I advocate.

It is the moral duty of responsible persons to advocate the maturing of that international system of security against anarchy which the San Francisco plan, with all its patent defects, outlines. A Russo-American military alliance can give the final tie to this. Within its framework more intimate Pan American union; the integration into one whole of America and the British Commonwealth; even the integration of the entire Latin and, later, the entire Western World becomes possible—and possible in a constructive and peaceful fashion. Such an alliance, I repeat, demands accommodation and tolerance on both sides. It may in time mean the modification of the American system in the direction of increased social security and of the Russian system in the direction of tolerance and an abjuration, actual and not on paper, of the techniques of the police-state. This may come. Here lies the concert of the powers.

The alternative is a terrible road the shape of which can already be descried. Moreover success cannot be regarded as assured although the iron conditions of success would not be difficult to outline. It is not desirable either to throw our hats up in the air over the successes achieved at San Francisco or to go about with long faces. President Truman's alleged technique with the Russians may well be a good one since the Russians are great respecters of facts, and of united fronts

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which have military strength. The object of any good *clerc* and true humanist will be to see that the real values of civilization are preserved. If the Russians will abandon their suspicions and all others the giving of any legitimate grounds for suspicion, as distinct from a rational and reasonable concern for these values, peace may be preserved in our time and the international security system may grow to maturity. The situation is grave but not yet grim.

The Test of San Francisco

MAX ASCOLI

CYNICISM is having a field day in San Francisco. For weeks the major conflicts of national interests, the reciprocal irritations among different modes of thinking and ways of living have been exposed here to a merciless floodlight. Those who expected to find the preview of world harmony could see the old forces that keep the world disjointed still going strong. Perhaps we need most of all freedom from fear at this time of history. Yet fear, too, is having a field day in San Francisco—fear of the big among the small and fear of each other among the big, fear of the immediate future and of the people back home everywhere.

It is good that all this happened and that San Francisco has offered more a summary of the past than a preview of the future. It is good that it has exposed all causes making for disharmony sometimes with a sort of premature or disproportionate publicity. It is good that it has been so far, rather than an evidence of international cooperation, a test that international cooperation had to overcome. San Francisco does not start like a bigger and better Versailles. It starts from the point where peacemaking stopped, which is marked by the wreckage of Geneva. At San Francisco there has been just exactly the opposite of secret diplomacy, which aims at keeping the people ignorant and happy. Here it is easy to see flying from every hotel window adequate samples of all the dirty linen of the world.

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The conference is slowly grinding its way to a conclusion. In spite of everything, it will bring out its charter which we already all know will be an improvement on Dumbarton Oaks. The Social and Economic Council is not going to be an empty façade, but will establish a framework within which the governments can be made responsible and accountable for the welfare of their peoples. Even the trusteeships are going to be, at least in the final legal definition, somewhat more like trusts than unrestrained sovereign ownership over native populations and undeveloped resources.

The miracle of San Francisco is that, having started from so low and having been increasingly hampered by so many misconceptions and so much cynicism, nevertheless it has gone on and is doing its work. There has been no flight and no secession from San Francisco. The reason is that no people anywhere in the world would have allowed it. All the clever political patterns and legalistic symbols actually symbolize something which is very real, and which is the people. The people everywhere in the world have paid enough sweat and blood for the commitments of their leaders, and the symbolized have acquired the right to watch carefully the manipulators and caretakers of symbols. This is why, no matter how they felt about each other, the delegations have stuck to their job and there has been no secession from San Francisco.

At San Francisco tools are being forged that the democratic forces all over the world must learn to use. This, too, is quite good because democracy, national and international, can be born only this way, when the people themselves conquer their freedom and each people, doing its own share of work by itself, gains the sense of the interdependence and of the solidarity which bind all nations.

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Principles are being established here for which there is no enforcement. Laws are being laid down without the support of any adequate punitive agency. This applies to the rights of man, to the Social and Economic Council, and to the forthcoming idealistic preambles to the realistic and hardboiled new devices of power politics. The cynics may again have a chance to sneer, and they will be entitled to their sneer if the democratic forces all over the world do not accept the challenge. The vague idealistic formulas of the diplomats define the work of the liberals, because it is up to those who believe in freedom to make the noble formulas into real things. Perhaps those who believe in freedom are being overloaded with work at San Francisco, and at times are inclined to ask for mercy.

Those who, as I do, believe in the people, rely on the wisdom and on the goodness of the people, are grateful to San Francisco and glad that it is as it is—so unglamorous, so tainted with prejudices and fear, and yet so meaningful because of the tasks that it imposes on us. The hard work for freedom starts from here and is defined here. The best that can be said about the conference is that the cause of international organization will survive it.

It is a very good thing.

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The Stage & Screen

Hollywood Pinafore

VICTOR MOORE in black and white, Shirley Booth in white and amethyst, constitute, I should say, the high-spots of the second Pinafore to hit the Street within ten days. Otherwise, I think George S. Kaufman's satire runs a little behind its counterpart at the Broadway. Mr. Kaufman's plus-plot, hinging on the renowned Hollywood detestation of writers, is real and greatly funny, and he has lyricked the business with nice detail. But in his choice of the gigantic canvas to illustrate the "gigantica" at stake, he has necessarily had to sacrifice some opportunities for wit in the interests of large masses of girls, a vertical and (cumulatively) boring set by Meilziner, a rather pretentious expository Ballet by Tudor, and few small perfections to remember. That is, aside from the two major perfections mentioned above. What I am trying to get at, is that the author has chosen to *go* Hollywood in order to *get* Hollywood—down or out or where you will: there is too much of everything. The story (by the skin of the teeth of Parsons and Hopper, the public lady gossipists) is not really important. But given this spring, it naturally proceeds—as any Pinafore must—from Buttercup, here a lady named Louhedda Hopsons and known as "Little Miss Butter-Up" throughout the scene. It is not simple to describe Miss Booth's excellencies in the rôle; one would like to spend days attempting it: her slightly thin precise voice, her feather-stitch timing, her neat use of whatever portion of the stage she is given at the moment, her four-masted hat, her infinitesimal pencil and notebook in which the lyrics seem to be punctuated as they are being sung. I suppose the easiest conclusion will be that here is an actress who knows what she is doing, and likes it. And so do we. Mr. Moore (WINTERGREEN—1931) does not have quite the same opportunity. Although he has of course a number of the best tunes, and although his Conference scene gives him every chance for the small whispered rejoinder he handles so expertly, the part does seem to be made up mainly of clues for the doings of others. Nevertheless, he is still a round clown, and his effect remains always the same: whatever he does, one is *fond* of him and wishes he had only entrances with no exits at all. The equipment of both these players emphasizes the chief fault of the show, that there is no dancing. It is not that I think the Gilbert and Sullivan stuff needs any amount of formalized dance. The Negro version had, as I have noted, a little too much of it, with too many sudden solos. It is more that the very choiceness of the words and airs seems to set one's feet going and to demand, not twirls and rounds, but simply steps to break and catch the melodies: a scheme which both Miss Booth and Mr. Moore, as well as every other member of the cast, could certainly have accomplished with ease. I don't think Anthony Tudor's Ballet scene compensated for this lack. A highschool version of "Fancy Free," it did not, I feel, fit; although enchantingly danced by Viola Essen.

In addition to these enumerated pleasures, there are also numbers of very blond Blondes, William Gaxton as a roaring Dick Live-Eye (An Agent), Gilbert Russell as a dulcet Ralph Rackstraw (A Writer), and many more. Although I must confess my preference for the more naïve delights of "Memphis Bound." This is still Gilbert and Sullivan, and still a good show. (*At the Alvin.*)

KAPPO PHELAN.

Sullivan and Stevenson

LIKE "Golden Boy," *"The Great John L"* is a prize fight picture that is different. Both films develop the theme that their pugilistic heroes had souls and problems that could not be solved in the ring. But John L. Sullivan is by no means likened to the fine, sensitive Golden Boy. As played by Greg McClure, a big, well built, handsome newcomer with a tough mug, Sullivan is portrayed as a powerful fighter who understands the manly art of self-defense practiced in the 1880's but does not understand himself or the people around him. Impressed with his own prowess in the ring and the adulation of his public who feed the Great John L myth, the Great John L himself does not develop mentally or spiritually at the same pace with his fighting technique and publicity. He acts like a frustrated youth who resorts to drink when he cannot have what he wants. What John wants is Kathy (Barbara Britton), the Boston girl who refuses him again and again, but waits for him. Even after Sullivan wins the world's championship, Kathy turns him down, tells him to grow up. What John gets is Anne (Linda Darnell), the music hall singer who chased him unashamedly, and whom he marries on the rebound. Sullivan's victories in the ring continue in spite of his unhappy marriage and increased drinking. Finally Anne goes to Kathy, offers to divorce John if she will marry him. Kathy's no is again very definite. After Anne leaves him and after James Corbett defeats him, Sullivan goes from bad to worse before he stages his greatest combat (with liquor) and emerges the victor. I don't know how much scriptwriter James Grant has fictionized the true story of Sullivan. I suspect, however, that he was hampered at times by the facts; occasionally the film moves slowly; truth is not always dramatic. The picture has some exciting fight sequences; and what puts this movie above the usual prize fight thrillers is that its characters have depth and act like real people. Director Frank Tuttle deserves much of the credit for this and for the realistic Irish-American atmosphere that permeates the picture. The production (the first of the newly formed Bing Crosby organization) is good throughout. Director Tuttle is particularly successful in making us realize that Kathy, Anne and a host of friends and followers might have a strong affection for the Boston Strong Boy in spite of his surly behavior. The film's most successful characterization is that of J. M. Kerrigan as Father O'Malley who thoughtfully worries over John, who befriends him when he is down and who quotes Saint Francis. This quotation comes back to the broken prize fighter in the moving scene in which John has his final bout with drinking: "Each man has a personal demon which he must

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wrestle and defeat before he is whole and complete as a man."

Moviegoers who like their excitement on the horror side would be wise to look up *"The Body Snatcher."* Don't be misled by its title into thinking this is just another grade B thriller; for it has a subtle psychological insight that will interest and satisfy serious adult audiences as well as those looking only for the touch of the macabre. Philip MacDonald and Carlos Keith based their screenplay on the story by Robert Louis Stevenson. And Val Lewton, whose name is becoming a trademark for something extraordinary in the line of psychological thrillers, has given the film appropriate production with a good cast. The story, laid in Edinburgh of the 1830's, concerns a medical student (Russell Wade) who works in a school run by a doctor of ill-repute (Henry Daniell). This doctor was once mixed up in the famous Knox case and is now under the evil influence of a cab driver named Gray (Boris Karloff) who supplies the school with cadavers. The wide-eyed, naïve student is shocked to learn that Gray robs graves to get his stiffs. He is even more horrified when he discovers that sometimes Gray doesn't bother to go to the cemetery; some of the ominous-looking bundles contain the bodies of freshly murdered victims. Among the latter are the doctor's servant (Bela Lugosi), a sinister, creepy fellow who tries to blackmail Gray, and a lovely street singer (Donna Lee) whose sweet voice is muffled one gloomy night. Before the plot disposes of all its evil characters, Director Robert Wise succeeds in making you jump from your seat many times; his most successful effects, however, are attained through contrasts of good and evil, light and dark, understatement and sheer horror. Because the characters are well portrayed and psychologically sound, the gruesome story becomes very real indeed. Most convincing and most harrowing to watch is the mad ride in the cab right after the doctor and student have robbed a grave. The doctor's overwrought nerves excite him into believing that the body beside him is that of the recently murdered Gray. And for him the cadaver becomes Gray. Stevenson himself, as well as Poe, Washington Irving and Henry James, would approve of Val Lewton's cinematic version of this story.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Trouble in Montreal

John C. Cort

ROSE PESOTTA is a female labor leader. They say that right now more than 3,000,000 union members in this country are women. And yet the number of women labor leaders who are nationally prominent could be numbered on the fingers of one hand. Labor leading is a tough business, even tougher than politics, and very few women have the physical strength-plus-brains-plus-oratory that is involved in getting to the top in what Pegler would describe as a man's racket.

Miss Pesotta (pronounced "Peysota") is one of the few. For ten years she was a vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, AFL, a union with more than 85 percent female membership, the only woman on an executive board of 25. That gives you an idea. She has also been an ace organizer for the ILG in such cities as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Milwaukee, Buffalo, Cleveland, Boston and Montreal. Also Puerto Rico. She was born in the Ukraine and came over early. She is a New Dealer with a right-wing socialist background, although there seems to be precious little socialism left. She is also full of energy, curiosity and ideas, and she has written a book about herself and her experiences called "Bread Upon the Waters."*

It is an interesting book. Being curious and broad in her interests, Miss Pesotta puts into her story much that is not strictly ILG business. When the ILG was a CIO union, she helped out with the Goodyear rubber strike in Akron, and with the General Motors famous sit-down at Flint in 1937. It's all a little too long, but surprisingly good on the whole and invaluable for organizers, male or female, or ambitious union girls who want to get ahead.

What makes "Bread Upon the Waters" important for Catholics, however, are two short chapters in the middle about the dressmakers' strike of 1937 in Montreal. What follows is primarily discussion of those chapters.

For some years before 1937 the ILG had an organization in the cloak and suit division of the women's garment industry in Montreal, but had got nowhere with the dressmakers. The latter are nearly all women, French-Canadians and Catholics. In September of 1936 Miss Pesotta went to Montreal and, with her customary skill and energy, tackled the problem of organizing the dressmakers. Conditions were terrible, hours long, wages low, and there was no other union in the field. The employers fought back and fired girls who joined the ILG, but in spite of that the union made steady progress. Other opposition developed: in February of 1937 a new union was formed, the Catholic League of the Needle Workers of Quebec, affiliated with the Confederation of Catholic Workers of Canada.

The Catholic League had started late and did not have any notable success in persuading the dressmakers to join it. It was therefore unusual to find that the Dress Manufacturers Guild, which had refused flatly to talk to ILG representatives, was willing to sign a contract with the League. This contract was published April 10. It was so bad that the ILG immediately mimeographed it and distributed copies to all the dressmakers.

Although the legal minimum for women in Quebec Province was $12.50, the contract provided for a minimum of $8.00 a week for the bottom 20 percent, $10.50 or more for 20 percent, $12.50 or more for 30 percent and $14.00 or more for 30 percent. (Miss Pesotta points out that "legitimate labor unions never divide workers into groups by arbitrary percentages, but demand stipulated minimum wages for each separate craft.") The work week was 44 hours, but 10 hours of overtime were allowed at no extra charge to the employer. It also specified that wages even below the minimum of $8.00 could be paid to "employees whose production is not normal through physical infirmity, old age or otherwise. . . ."

* Dodd. $3.00.

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On April 7 the ILG called a mass meeting at which 2,500 dressmakers voted unanimously to strike. On April 15, five days after the Catholic union's contract had been published, the general strike began. The enthusiasm for that contract can be estimated by the fact that by evening of the first day over 5,000 of Montreal's 10,000 dressmakers had registered at strike headquarters. Nearly 100 factories were affected.

At this point "la Ligue Catholique" called upon the powerful resources of the Catholic Church in Montreal to help them break the strike. These resources were generously granted. Father Jean Bertrand, chaplain of the Catholic unions, and two lay officials wrote a letter to Archbishop Gauthier of Montreal in which they urged him to do the following things:

> (1) To give his entire support to la Ligue. . . .
> (2) To warn the Catholic dressmakers against the exaggerated promises of foreign organizations hostile to our Faith, promises that cannot ever materialize, and tell the workers to adhere to la Ligue. . . .
> (3) To ask the public authorities for special protection so that Catholic dressmakers are not forced to give their name to the International Union [ILG—JCC] in order to get work, because, if in the present conflict la Ligue suffers a defeat, the Catholic workers, if they don't want to go on relief, will have to belong to a union with communist tendencies, and has the government not promised to fight communism in this province?
> (4) To press upon the government the immediate deportation of Miss Rose Pesotta and Mr. Bernard Shane and the arrest of any picket who is not a Montreal resident.

This letter was read and "approved" by both Archbishop Gauthier and Cardinal Villeneuve of Quebec and was published next day, Sunday, in *La Patrie,* popular French daily. On that same day there were few sermons in the working class parishes that did not contain denunciations of the ILG, and some priests actually announced that Miss Pesotta and Mr. Shane had already been deported.

The next day the picket lines, led by the two ILG leaders, were larger than ever. And there was considerable bitterness toward the Church among the Catholic strikers. It was therefore fortunate in more ways than one that Miss Pesotta, at the strike meeting that afternoon, was able to cite the assistance given the ILG in Los Angeles by Father James F. Cunningham and the Catholic Welfare Association, and in Cleveland by Monsignor Joseph Smith. She also quoted Monsignor John A. Ryan and Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI. Clever woman, Miss Pesotta. The opposition, however, remained vigorous all through the week and la Ligue did its best to build up a back-to-work movement. On Friday, April 30, the union got word that warrants had been issued for all the strike leaders and that Shane and Miss Pesotta were to be held for deportation, as requested by la Ligue.

There followed a week-end of hide-and-seek, rumors and counter-rumors. On Monday Premier Duplessis, who had ordered the warrants, was attacked in the provincial legislature. After all, the AFL had 50,000 members in Montreal who were supporting the strike. For one reason or another the warrants were never served. And so, with the last card played, the dress manufacturers collapsed and agreed to sign a contract. The ILG was able to make good on its promises at least to the extent of an immediate 10 percent increase for all workers, time-and-a-half after 44 hours and no work on Saturday afternoons. At a packed and wildly enthusiastic meeting the strikers ratified the contract. And so ended the strike. La Ligue had "suffered" a very decisive defeat.

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It is perfectly understandable that Miss Pesotta should be rather bitter about the Catholic unions of Canada. She has reason to be. But she allows her bitterness to carry her too far when she dismisses them as "illegitimate" or "company unions," by which she means company-dominated unions. The Catholic unions may have been dominated, but in the vast majority of cases at least it was not by the companies. It would be just as reasonable for the CIO to call the AFL "illegitimate" or "company union," because in hundreds of instances AFL unions have waited for the CIO to organize shops and call strikes, and have then gone around to the back door and signed "sweetheart contracts" with the employer. Or it would be just as reasonable to call the ILG itself "company union" because it has in sufficiently numerous instances signed contracts whose only redeeming feature was that they contained provisions for a closed shop and check-off.

As a matter of fact, the Catholic unions can point to an excellent example of "company union" action by the AFL's International Brotherhood of Paper Makers in 1939 at the Price pulp mills in Kenogami, Jonquière and Riverbend. Although the Catholic union had the vast majority of the workers, the English Protestant employer refused to do business with it, signed a sweetheart with the AFL and then forced his employees to join the latter on pain of discharge. "He that is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone."

The most damaging thing one can say about the Catholic unions is that they have been a sensational failure. In spite of the fact that they have now been in the business for 27 years and have had the enthusiastic support of most of the Catholic clergy in the Province of Quebec, the warm support of most of the French press and the tacit support of the provincial government, they had in January, 1944, exactly 53,000 members. (In P. Q. alone there are well over 1,000,000 workers eligible for union membership.) At the same date the Trades and Labor Council of Canada (AFL) had over 200,000 and the newly-organized Canadian Congress of Labor (CIO and independent) about the same. Even in P. Q., its own stronghold, where over 90 percent of the workers are Catholic and French Canadian, the CTCC (*Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada*) had been badly out-organized by its rivals. This defeat on its own ground is all the more amazing when you consider the fact that the CCL and the TLCC have had to overcome a violent campaign of propaganda to the effect that they are not only American-dominated, but controlled by communists, Jews, anti-Catholics, racketeers and other assorted "undesirables."

In conversations with leaders of the CTCC and other

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Canadians, Catholic and non-Catholic, French and English, the writer tried to discover the reasons for this demonstration of the revolutionary principle that the more advantages you have, the less success. The most revealing explanation was given by a rank-and-file Catholic unionist in the Quebec headquarters at 19 Rue Caron. The writer had been asking a group of members and officials why the French Canadian workers preferred American unions to their own Catholic unions. This man, speaking for his fellow French Canadians, pointed to his own official and said: *"Je le connais—je n'ai pas confiance en lui."* Then pointing to the writer: *"Je ne vous confiance pas—j'ai confiance en vous.* ("I know him—I have no confidence in him. I don't know you—I have confidence in you.")

His purpose, of course, was to indicate the perversity of his fellows. Perhaps also he was thinking of the natural tendency of many Canadians to be impressed by the size and power and efficiency of things American. But the question he unwittingly posed was still the stumper: Why did the French Canadian worker have "no confidence" in the leaders he knew?

If Rose Pesotta had seen that dingy, unpainted headquarters, she would have given one minor answer. The place smelled of failure and defeat. Being a smart, heads-up organizer, Miss Pesotta knows the importance of appearances. But there must be other more important answers. The writer has neither the knowledge nor the experience of Canadian labor that is necessary to speak with any authority on this complex subject. He can only repeat answers given him by various Canadians, together with certain guesses of his own. It all adds up to the following, which is presented for what it is worth. Which may not be very much.

Although there has been some action taken in recent years to give more authority to lay leaders, the direction of the Catholic unions is still very strongly influenced by its chaplains. No matter how powerful their imaginations, priests cannot feel as strongly as laymen exactly how impossible it is to raise a family decently on the miserable wage of French Canadian workers, still the lowest in Canada. The chaplains are naturally men to whom intellectual and spiritual factors are dominant. Since their knowledge of European labor history seems to be far greater than their knowledge of American labor history, they think of unions as either Catholic or anti-Catholic. (Note the reference in the letter to an "organization hostile to our Faith.") What little they have read about American labor has apparently been concerned with communists and racketeers. They therefore tend to think of American unions as the very antithesis of all they hold dear, deadly weapons of destruction aimed at their language, their culture and their religion. The thought of good French Canadian Catholics coming under the power of such organizations naturally fills them with horror.

Everyone knows that the soul is far more important than the body. Therefore it may be unfortunate, these chaplains reason, but nevertheless necessary for the Catholic unions to accept a lower wage scale *in certain critical situations* where American unions might otherwise gain control of the souls of French Canadians. In addition, most priests have no liking for strikes. There is too much hatred and violence connected with them. And besides, the Catholic unions have no money to pay strike benefits. Better a poor compromise than the risk of hunger and unemployment. But above all, better any kind of compromise than the communists and racketeers from America. So they apparently argue. And we who have watched American employers setting off one union against another can appreciate how richly Canadian employers enjoy the presence of *three* organizations.

It's not that this kind of thing happens very often. It only has to happen a few times. The ILG strike in 1937 was a dramatic example. Note the ignorance of American labor, at once as profound as it is incredible, which inspired the leaders of the Catholic unions in Montreal to address that desperate appeal to the Archbishop. That appeal in which they identified their fight with the ILG, one of the most bitterly anti-communist unions in this country, with the fight against "communism." But given this ignorance, plus the special psychology of the French Canadian clergy, and it is not too difficult to understand the disastrous and futile action that was taken. It is even easier to understand how French Canadian workers, after watching a few of these performances, would conclude that membership in the Catholic unions was altogether too expensive, and decide to take their chances with the Americans and a few more badly-needed dollars in the pay envelope.

The clerical domination of the Catholic unions has had other effects. Having less responsibility, lay leaders have naturally tended to demonstrate less interest and initiative. They seem to have preferred to rely on the priests and politicians to do their organizing for them, and have sat in their headquarters, waiting for the workers to break down the doors, as they congratulated themselves again and again on the fact that they were not foreigners, they were not communists, they were not Jews, they were not racketeers, they were not anti-Catholic, they were not unincorporated, etc., etc. They apparently have not learned that all the ecclesiastical and political influence in the world is no substitute for the plain ordinary sweat involved in going out and selling union membership to one single worker. They also do not appreciate the necessity of having plenty of paid, full-time organizers. Their hatred of American unions, plus their intense national pride, has even obscured the necessity of studying the methods used by American labor to organize 14,000,000 workers in spite of the handicaps of its disunion.

In more recent years, however, there have been encouraging developments. The splendid, dynamic Catholic movement represented by the Jocists (Young Christian Workers) and the Ligue Ouvrière Catholique (League of Catholic Workers—a kind of older Jocism) has produced some lay leaders with that combination of zeal and trained intelligence that has been so badly needed in the Catholic unions. (As Father Victor Villeneuve, the gentle, highly capable chaplain of both JOC and LOC, took pains to point out, this does not mean that these organizations support the CTCC to the exclusion of its rivals. Their

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members belong to all three unions.) Also since 1940 Montreal has had a new Archbishop, Most Reverend Joseph Charbonneau, a man of outstanding character and ability, whose interest in the economic problems of his impoverished people has been both active and articulate. There has, in short, already been much evidence to support the hopeful conclusion that a repetition of the unfortunate events of the spring of 1937 would no longer be possible.

It is not our business, *nous autres Américains,* to tell the French Canadian workers to join American unions. As Father Bertrand put it to the writer, "Canada is an independent country and Canadians have the right to belong to their own independent unions." (Although the Catholic unions call themselves "Syndicats Nationals," what is really meant is not Canadian, but French Canadian.) It does seem the business of American Catholics, on the other hand, to tell their fellow Catholics of French Canada—with all respect, affection and frankness—exactly how a sympathetic observer reacts to the kind of incident portrayed so bitterly by Miss Pesotta. Whether or not the Catholic unions are either necessary or advisable we do not know. We do know that if they are, we would like, as Catholics, to be proud of them and not ashamed. We hope that our French Canadian friends will accept these remarks in that light.

Editors' Choice

THE ANATOMY OF PEACE. *Emery Reves. Harper.* $2.00.
FIGHTING LIBERAL. *George W. Norris. Macmillan.* $3.50.

Blasting the Nation-State

IN THE "Anatomy of Peace" Mr. Emery Reves, who some years ago wrote "A Democratic Manifesto," has produced a tremendously effective political pamphlet. When we remember the effect of such works upon the history of the West, we may perhaps be forgiven for hoping that this latest contribution in a great tradition of polemics will have its practical effect. For the thesis it argues is basically a sound thesis, and the argument is presented with freshness and clarity and burning interest which should make it accessible to any reader, from the most unspecialized to the most learned. Here is a book no one could call obscure or difficult, although it does possess considerable originality of thinking and presentation.

Mr. Reves's thesis is simple. It is this: our economic and technical development has completely outstripped and made obsolete our political organization, and if we do not revise the latter, the pressure of the former will force a revision upon us. In a word, the world must unify itself or it will be unified by force. Mr. Reves points out that the whole idea of the nation-state, coming to fruition in the revolutions of the eighteenth century, served a brilliant purpose in that it integrated the lesser sovereignties which had grown up during the Middle Ages (when they in their turn had served a need) and thus eliminated the bloody strife between feudal lords, city-states, religious groups, etc. This nation-state, since it was to a large extent self-contained, could be sovereign without threatening to destroy the structure of the world; wars were largely dynastic or imperialist or both, but did no devastating harm. Then the industrial revolution and the technological revolution took place, in a brief century making the whole world economically interdependent in a way no one would have dreamed possible before it actually happened. And thus, today, it simply is no longer true that we can afford to allow nations to exercise full sovereignty (or, if you wish to be technical, to exercise any sovereignty whatever, but only autonomy).

Mr. Reves points out, in a brilliant introduction, that the very existence of nation-states forces the citizens of those states to view the rest of the world in terms of the self-interest of the particular state to which each belongs. Briefly he summarizes how an "average" American, Englishman, Frenchman, German, Russian viewed events between the two wars, and was quite justified in so viewing those events—though the views are most amusingly diverse. As long as the nation-state continues to be the most compelling political reality, this sort of fragmentated and irreconcilable diversity of view makes it impossible to avoid warfare between states. Mr. Reves brilliantly demonstrates the validity of this thesis in his analysis of what took place in Russia after the Revolution. Communist doctrine had held that once the proletariat was in power, the state would "wither away," since it would no longer have any special function justifying a special social position. Yet because the communists never thought to question the nation-state concept, but attempted to work within its framework, they were forced along the same path as any other state, however different in ideology. They were forced to centralization, to concentrating upon heavy industry, at the expense of improving the Russian standard of living, because only thus could they feel secure in a world of nation-states themselves inevitably creating pressures which Russia could not ignore except at the price of survival. Thus modern industrial production, technology and rapid communication, when linked to the nation-state, unless it be a single world state, inevitably pushes *all* nations in a fascist direction—assuming that by *fascism* you mean a greater and greater subordination of all individuals to an eventually total state. This process, naturally, will take place more rapidly in nations having few resources in proportion to population. But it will take place everywhere as long as national sovereignty continues to be the mainspring of action.

But, a reader might object, the concept of a world state is too terrible to contemplate, since under it all freedoms would disappear. Not at all, answers Mr. Reves. To make such an assertion is to betray a fatal ignorance of the very meaning of freedom. Freedom exists and can exist only under law. Without law there is no freedom except for the strong to destroy the weak, and that freedom is certainly not the one which mankind craves. A duly codified law, in which a given society concurs, is the only possible basis for men and women to be free, since it sets definite limits on brute freedom and thus makes possible those freedoms which we cherish, but which we must realize can never be exercised in such fashion as to destroy the freedoms of others. Thus the law forbids murder and theft and arson and rape since if it did not, none of us could speak freely or move about freely. This principle applies within any frame of political organization. We have learned this lesson pretty well for all political units up to and including the nation-state, but we have not yet learned that we must go further. We have formulated no genuine law making it possible for nations themselves to be truly free.

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Thus the United States has no real freedom at all, because it has to act in response to what other nations do: the decision to fight Japan was not a free American decision but was reached by Japanese in Tokyo. Only if there were a law regulating the relations between America and Japan, as there is a law regulating the relations between Massachusetts and Rhode Island, could it properly be said that the United States is really free to work out its own destiny. Naturally such law implies restriction, but without restriction there is no freedom anyway.

This general summary of Mr. Reves's analysis is, of course, inadequate. You should read the book to get the full force of the argument. And of course likewise there are plenty of "practical" objections which will be alleged against Mr. Reves. But his conclusion is also the answer to all practical objections. To repeat, it is this: since the logic of events and circumstances makes the continuance of a world political organization by nation-states impossible, we are confronted with a single alternative: unification by conquest (which, of course, might so devastate the world that there would be nothing left to unify) or unification by some sort of agreement under some code, not of "international" law, but of federal, world law.

Service with Vision

THE MOST rugged of our rugged individualists is often a man who has worked his way up from the ranks. He is strong for the system which has enabled him to struggle to the top. And he is often sure, for instance, that national unemployment is due directly to individual laziness. The self-made man is afraid of coddling his fellows. It is only occasionally that a boyhood of struggle similar to George W. Norris's leads to social consciousness, particularly when the farm boy makes good in such a big way. (Norris, among other things, represented Nebraska in the House and the Senate for forty years.) His autobiography, "Fighting Liberal," expresses a number of his ideas but gives little clue as to how he came by them.

Perhaps the first time Norris manifested his social sense was when he was serving as a Nebraska district judge. The spectacle of many families losing their farms due to untoward weather or market conditions over which they had little control greatly disturbed him; in the face of considerable opposition he delayed things so that defaulting owners were eventually able to make their back mortgage payments and everyone was better off. He seems to think that it was his first realization of the autocratic power of the Speaker of the House, manifested in the railroading through of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, that awakened his civic conscience. From then on he knew that "the institutions of democracy needed some reformation and needed them badly." On other occasions he reacted strongly to first hand knowledge of the living and working conditions of the American coal miner and the damage from floods and erosion. He also became deeply interested in the problems of democratic government.

With few exceptions his career in Congress was an unbroken series of achievements. The TVA and the Rural Electrification Administration were perhaps the most far-seeing and spectacular and were the result of a battle that lasted a decade. "The power trust is the greatest monopolistic corporation that has been organized for private greed." Norris also led the fight to outlaw the "yellow dog" labor contract. He fought to the end against the poll tax.

In international matters the Norris record is more checkered. He was one of the six Senators who voted against declaring war in 1917 and remained convinced to the end that he had acted wisely. More difficult to understand was his opposition to the League, which he does not explain, but about which he also remained adamant. This war was different and Senator Norris had a statesmanlike view of an eventual peace of reconciliation after a disarmament of the enemy which really worked. After the last war he wanted to relieve the poverty and desperation of the peoples of war-torn Europe by utilizing our rapidly accumulating fleet of idle shipping, but his efforts were defeated thereby hastening the depression and the outbreak of the present holocaust. Again, in his last hours Senator Norris called upon his country to feeding a starving world.

As an autobiography, "Fighting Liberal" is very uneven. It is formless, impersonal, more concerned with issues than with people. Once he reaches Washington he makes no further effort to record his personal life. There are times where a word as to what his wife looked like or a note on his Washington home life would have provided welcome relief from accounts of the legislative struggles which obsessed him. Yet even this is characteristic of a man who battled so vehemently against poverty and exploitation. This humanitarian who wrote, "my religion and my politics are one and the same," has composed here his own tribute.

More Books of the Week

The Fall of the Old Colonial System. Robert Livingston Schuyler. Oxford. $3.00.

THIS BOOK is a study of the emergence of the British Commonwealth of Nations within the framework of the British Empire; a phenomenon which seems to most of us to be a contradiction. Indirectly the book also throws light on our own mistaught American history. Professor Schuyler makes clear what this clash is, of "Commonwealth of Nations" and "Empire." Since our roots are the same, it carries over from England to the United States. Its evolution between 1770 and 1870 is part of us. Both are part of the same slow growth toward personal and individual liberty within the same kind of people, within the same period of time. We Americans had as great a share in it as the British had. We both solved our problem, as far as any real problem can be solved, out of the same roots, in different ways. We seceded from the new Empire to form a federal union of States, of embryonic nations. We have gone on to act as if we are a unitary National Republic—in a sense, a sovereign Empire, weakening the States which compose the federal union. They have gone on to strengthen the former colonies and dominions to be nations, a Commonwealth of Nations within the Empire.

That is all implicit in the book. The reasons for it are clear and are emphasized. Creaking of the British imperial machinery in 1770 to 1870 is once more the same as our own in the period from 1929 to date, and, once more, for the same reasons which Dr. Schuyler states so simply and clearly: the change from Adam Smith's interpretation of "The Wealth of Nations" to Gustav Schmoller's exposition of "The Mercantile System in Its Historical Significance" (1884)—in the colonial system regarded primarily as existing primarily for the benefit of the "mother country," or as developed for power.

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"The essence of the [mercantile] system," says Schmoller, "lies, not in some doctrine of money, or of the balance of trade; not in trade barriers, protective duties, or navigation laws; but in something far greater: namely, in the total transformation of society and its organization as well as of the State and its institutions, in the replacing of a local and territorial economic policy by that of the National State." One is struck at once by the significance of those words in their bearing on Italy's Corporative State, on Germany's National Socialism in its nazi totalitarian aspect, on the policies of Russia's Soviet Union, on large portions of the New Deal ideology in our United States.

William Cunningham, the English economic historian (also quoted by Schuyler), publishing his "Growth of English Industry and Commerce" in 1882, puts it even more directly and forcefully: "The main object which publicists who dealt with economic topics had before their minds, was *the power* of the country; they set themselves to discuss the particular aspects of industry and commerce which would conduce to this end, according to the circumstances of different countries." That, again, is the primary object of current and post-war discussion among the Big Three, Four, or Five: ". . . the economic phase of State-making, State-maintaining, and State-aggrandizing." "The collective entity with which mercantilists concerned themselves was the State. . . . The State, in mercantilistic eyes, ought to be administered as an economic unit, and its interests ought to be promoted by the Central Government . . ." ". . . they [the mercantilists] were not concerned with ethical considerations or spiritual values . . . they were not concerned with secular human happiness . . . they were businessmen . . . distinctly not representative of the 'lower orders.'"

Quite truly this book describes a major achievement of British liberalism which made possible the emergence of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and which might become the precursor of a true system of United Nations. Truly also, as Schuyler says: "It is not surprising therefore that the age of mercantilism was a period of chronic warfare between States. Europe as a whole was never at peace for any length of time and the individual States, when not fighting, were preparing to fight. Mercantilism, indeed, was in large measure a system of military preparedness [and for that reason diplomacy focused on State power]. The medieval ideal of Christian universalism had never been realized, and there had been plenty of fighting in the Middle Ages, but universalism had at least been cherished as an ideal. In the age of mercantilism the ideal had faded away."

Once more, in the twentieth century, we see aspirations toward universalism in one form or another, while Schmoller's mercantilistic imperialism winds through it, even in our tentative mutual security programs. The businessman, the economist and the technician are once more attempting to set up a world "distinctly not representative of the 'lower orders.'"

WILLIAM FRANKLIN SANDS.

The History of Economics in Its Relation to Social Development. Werner Stark. Oxford. $2.00.

A PROVOCATIVE essay which develops, with almost annoying self-assurance, the debatable thesis that "every single [economic] theory put forward in the past" must be interpreted "as a faithful expression and reflection of contemporary conditions." It is only with

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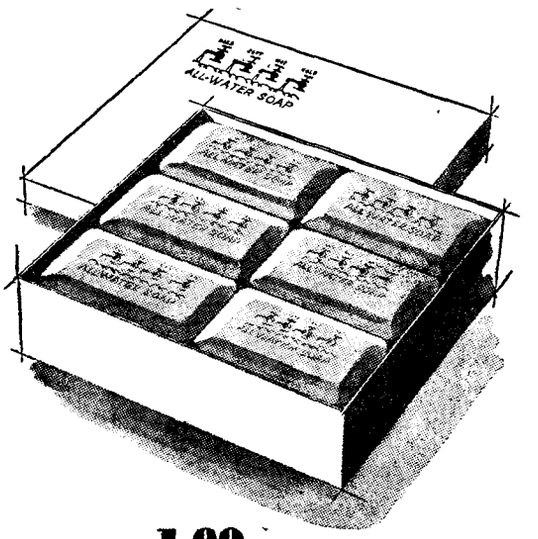

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difficulty that the author avoids the shoals of economic determinism as he tries to establish "the essential relativity of all social and economic doctrines." Almost every page of my review copy of the book is pencil-marked with interrogations or exclamations—or both.

GEORGE G. HIGGINS.

Years Before the Flood. Marianne Roane. Scribners. $2.50.

KNURRE, the Schnauzer, lay under the coffee table showing his serviceable white teeth. "Be careful," said Eleonore Rant to one of her guests, "he bites." In 1927, most of the people in Gundefingen seemed to be in much the same mood as Knurre. "Before the war we sang, now we have arguments," grunted Friedrich Rant to his American cousin. Friedrich was a partner in a successful toy factory near Stuttgart. He was a perfectionist as far as the physical side of life was concerned—no squeaks were permitted in his smooth-running machinery—only his social relationships were allowed to creak unpleasantly. Herr Rant was far more understanding about his dachshunds than about his small daughter or Eleonore, his wife, who was beautiful, dull and kindly but whose temper matched her husband's in violence.

The Wuertembergers exhibited by Miss Roane are not given the excuse of economic stress for their surliness; Gundelfingen is well fed and well housed but spiritually bankrupt. The American cousin, who leaves for Germany on page two but whose arrival awaits fifteen chapters of Gundelfingen atmosphere, finds the toy factory perfect, his relations' squabbles embarrassing and everyone complaining of Germany's ill-treatment. He is present at a Pentecost Picnic—no one remembers what Pentecost means—where a Viennese designer is crucified in the woods by the Boys' Hiking Club. Friedrich has neither moral nor ethical grounds for his objection to such unsightly deeds when his pragmatic argument that violence doesn't pay seems slipping. "If you kill those who disagree with you, you will have peace and unity—that is success." Because he didn't know the answer to the current watchword, "Let us hate as many people as possible," he decides to go to America. After an abortive affair with an incipient nazi who gets bitten by Knurre, Eleonore is reconciled to following him. We can only hope America improved their manners.

Miss Roane, who planned to be a painter before she began winning prizes for stories, has drawn a series of sketches of people in Gundelfingen and joined them in progressively tiresome analysis of their psychological content. It's the kind of novel in which portentous implications of character are latent in the children's games, in the hat that Eleonore is wearing, in Friedrich's oiling a machine in the factory. Miss Roane's literary facility and intelligence have won for her first novel the Avery Hopwood Award for fiction. She is evidently an admirer of Katherine Mansfield. For her readers' sakes, we should suggest some perusal of Maugham or Bromfield. After all a novel is supposed to be a narrative, and even Henry James founded his subjective intricacies on solid objective plot material. If you feel intellectually energetic enough for the ransacking of some dusty mental attics, then "Years Before the Flood" will fit into your literary spring cleaning, but if you are looking for a pleasant vernal excursion into light fiction, this is a chore not recommended.

E. V. R. WYATT.

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San Martín. Ricardo Rojas. Translated by Herschel Brickell and Carlos Videla. Doubleday. $3.50.

THIS is a standard short biography by an Argentine of José de San Martín, liberator and founder of Argentina, Chile and Peru. A life of San Martín by an Argentine is like a life of Washington by a North American: it is apt to be worshipful and uncritical. So with this one, published in Argentina in 1933, and now translated literally, into awkward English. Its unfortunate, verbose style, plus what for me is an excess of anecdote and detail gleaned from every source, make the book tedious reading. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile for anyone interested in that place and time, or in what made the American revolutionaries tick, from Argentina to the United States.

Among those extraordinary men, José de San Martín was unique, enigmatic. He was born in Argentina, of Spanish parents, and with them returned to Spain at the age of seven. At eleven he began his military career, and at thirteen was already in combat. He spent twenty-two years in active service as a soldier of Spain without, we're told, a single furlough, rising to the rank of colonel; then abruptly left to go the Buenos Aires to offer himself to the ruling Triumvirate in the wars of independence. He was clearly not a soldier of fortune; he clearly was a man of high purpose, with an almost incredible single-mindedness and sense of dedication; but neither this book nor, perhaps, any other, can shed much light on the ideas which inspired his life's work. Simple patriotism hardly moved him: there was no Argentine nation at that time. A Spaniard, he felt impelled to bring about the independence of Spain's colonies. (Can anyone think of an Englishman who fought for our independence?) Unquestionably San Martín was liberal intellectual as well as soldier; unquestionably his work was powered by a political ideal; but the author does not say by whom, among the men of the enlightenment, he was stimulated. We know only that he was a member of a Cádiz lodge, which may or may not have been Masonic, which "tended toward the principle of Revolution" and was in contact with Miranda's "Great American Reunion" in London. In America the revolutionary leaders were organized by San Martín in pseudo-Masonic political lodges known by the name "Lautaro."

San Martín would probably have succeeded notably as a general in World War II, such was his genius for military organization and supply. This, rather than tactics, gained independence for southern South America. He was also outstandingly successful in promoting guerrilla warfare. The liberation of Argentina, Chile and Peru having been accomplished, this man, whose talents might have been put to civil use in the anarchy which accompanied independence, went into retirement at the age of 44. He had refused nearly every reward, had returned half his salary to the government and he lived frugally all his life.

Why, we wonder, did the idealist who destroyed, heroically, one kind of order refuse to help build another? Perhaps—Rojas does not say this—his political convictions changed. He wrote to an old friend from retirement: "With respect to public opinion, are you perhaps unaware that five-sixths of the world's inhabitants are stupid and the rest are rogues, with the exception of a few good men?" Again, "Nothing provides a better chance to know what men are like than a revolution. It offers examples by which to measure the immensity of their perversity.

Peace
Reconstruction
Social Justice

All who privately make the following resolution associate themselves with a great number of other persons who are striving to bring the blessings of social justice to a stricken world:

> **"I resolve to inform myself on Catholic doctrine on social justice, to conform my life to its requirements and to do everything in my power, in my home and religious life, in my social and business contacts, to promote its principles.**
>
> **"Realizing that I cannot keep this resolution faithfully without Divine help, I further resolve, as nearly as possible, to hear Holy Mass twice a week (once besides Sunday) and daily if possible; and to receive Holy Communion at least once a month or weekly, if possible, to attain social justice throughout the world."**

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The last paragraph of the statement of the Bishops of the United States of February 7, 1940, is as follows:

> **"In giving renewed emphasis to these principles, (Catholic social doctrines enunciated by Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI), we urge our people again to give them earnest study, so that they may again come to know and love the way of Justice; and to strengthen themselves spiritually, through prayer and the Sacraments, that they may follow it. So doing, by God's Grace they will, as a leaven in society, fulfill their appointed role in the establishment of the kingdom of God among men."**

Study, prayer, the Sacraments and personal performance are here asked of the laity to establish the Kingdom of Christ the King on earth. We submit that these requirements are met in the above resolution.

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Next Week

AUSTRIA: TEST CASE, by Ernst Karl Winter. The former Deputy Mayor of Vienna contrasts the Russian and Anglo-American approaches to the problem of the restoration of Austria. He finds greater hope in the Soviet method of setting up local authorities than in the Anglo-American procedure of military occupation. If a successful pattern can be worked out in Austria, the political rehabilitation of a number of other European countries will be that much more immediately realizable.

MEXICO AND U. S. RACISM, by Hensley C. Woodbridge. This exceedingly factual account of the effect of American racism upon our relations with Mexico should give us pause; it cites chapter and verse. For a number of Mexican papers are sensitive not only to discrimination against their nationals in California and the Southwest, but they tend to headline incidents involving American Negroes also. An obstacle to the good neighbor policy which we must squarely face.

TWO LETTERS. Unavoidably held over from last week is a pair of letters directed to the United States by a French professional man in 1940 and 1945. The first of these was returned to him by the French postal authorities after the surrender to the Germans; the second, in which he enclosed the first, reflects the experiences and reactions of a French élite during captivity and after liberation.

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I have become a misanthrope, because, for every virtuous man I found, there were 2,000 evil men."

The author explores the problem of San Martín's inspiration very little, and mainly in terms of an incomprehensible part-Wagnerian, part-Masonic symbolism.

GEORGE DOHERTY.

The Ghostly Lover. Elizabeth Hardwick. Harcourt. $2.50.

"AN exhilarating discovery," says the jacket copy on Elizabeth Hardwick's "The Ghostly Lover"; the adjective is exactly what this first novel is not. Miss Hardwick writes in a prose, tepid and, peculiarly enough, at the same time clear. Her young girl heroine emerges always dimly from the overpowering setting—a small Southern town—and family—a loose-knit demanding sort—both of which thwart her development, and proceeds to a vaguely projected fulfillment in New York: reading this novel entails the same mental struggle as coming out of an anesthetic, or fighting off insistent sleepiness. But the authoress needs to keep on writing, with an eye to leaping the bounds of her own milieu; her clarity should focus on people and places less subjectively felt. The nuances of human relationships are her field, certainly; and tenuously depicting them may well be her forte in the future, but a more positive attitude toward them, and more positive and interesting people, are what she needs in order to write an "exhilarating" novel of multiple, related characters and their development.

KATHARINE MARVIN.

Winds, Blow Gently. Ronald Kirkbride. Frederick Fell. $2.50.

THE NOVEL with a thesis is the most difficult of all to bring off well; the axe will insist on protruding so that the author stubs his toe at the crucial junctures when his big issue is at stake. On such occasions he tends to lose sight of his people. It is because of such uneven crucial moments that "Winds, Blow Gently" is not first rate. Much of the time the story of a Quaker boyhood in the American South flows smoothly; on occasion it is stirring to a degree. The theme itself is of the best: the struggle for justice for the Southern Negro through education, non-discrimination and diversified cultivation of the soil.

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